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**Active Civic Participation  
of Immigrants in  
Poland**

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# **POLITIS – a European research project**

## **Project information**

POLITIS is short for a research project with the full title: *Building Europe with New Citizens? An Inquiry into the Civic Participation of Naturalised Citizens and Foreign Residents in 25 Countries*. The European Commission funds the project that mainly seeks to improve our understanding of different factors that promote or inhibit active civic participation of immigrants. A unique project construction is developed that includes workshops with foreign-born students who are recruited as discussants and interviewers. National experts in all 25 EU countries have prepared country reports on the contextual conditions and state of research concerning civic participation of immigrants. These reports can be downloaded from [www.uni-oldenburg.de/politis-europe/country-reports](http://www.uni-oldenburg.de/politis-europe/country-reports)

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## ABSTRACT

The year of 1989 marks an equally turning point in the migration process in Poland. Profound political, legal and institutional changes in the country brought about, *inter alias*, opening borders and abolition of limits on movement. Along with political, social and economic transition, which occurred in the Central and Eastern European region after 1989, the mechanisms and patterns of migration have also changed. Although Poland is still a country of emigration, it has recently experienced an inflow of asylum seekers, movement of transit migrants and permanent immigration both from the East and the West. Indeed, a new ethnic diversity and creation of a new ethnic consciousness can now be observed. However, as far as the active civic participation of immigrants i.e. activities by political parties or socio-cultural associations or other organisations of immigrants and non-EU citizens in Poland are concerned, the situation is rather dramatic. Currently there are no structures enabling migrants to influence political decisions at any level. There are no consultative bodies, nor immigrants' parties. The question of voting rights at local level for (non-EU) immigrants is not on the political agenda of any party. There is not even any public debate on the subject. The existing immigrants groups are still too weak and too new on the Polish soil to create organisations, parties or associations focused on political activities, local committees or migrant lobby organisations. They mainly concentrate on possibilities to improve the social and economic conditions of their existence in Poland. New immigrants groups now in the process of formation in Poland (such as Ukrainians and Armenians) tend to bind with their ethnic group living in Poland for centuries. So far almost any new immigrants structures have been created only within or by the organisations set up by the old ethnic minorities. The only exception here is the Vietnamese community. Therefore, civic participation of immigrants or minorities is examined in Polish literature and research from the point of view of the revival of ethnic consciousness in 1989 of old 'ethnic minorities' living in Poland for centuries mainly, and from the point on view of social and economic situation of immigrants who have started to arrive into Poland since the beginning of 1990s only. There are no other sources materials as grey literature or media reports on this issue. As far as the association of 'old' national minorities are concerned, they form a mosaic in terms of forms, sizes and activities, but a socio-cultural association is the basic form of their organisation. The registered 'old' minority organisations encompass religious associations, scout and youth organisations, cultural foundations, and organisations representing interests of certain professional groups within the minorities. New associations of the 'old' minorities, that have started to mushrooming after 1989 have led to the public airing of minorities' interests and have given minorities a chance to act on an open public forum. The possibility to establish an institutional structure by minorities was both symbolic and constituted a substantial change in the status of ethnic minorities in Poland.

## **PART I: UNDERSTANDING THE CONDITIONS FOR IMMIGRANT PARTICIPATION**

### **1. KEY EVENTS AND DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIGRATION HISTORY**

Along with the dismantling of the communist system, and subsequently with the collapse of the USSR, alarmist warnings began to be heard in Western Europe about the prospect of a mass population exodus from the former Soviet Union. In 1991 the most pessimistic scenario envisaged nine million citizens seeking work and living space among the 'well established' societies of Western Europe. Politicians, academics, journalists could not be persuaded that this exodus would not take place. And to some extent they were right. The exodus of citizens of the former USSR has not made itself felt thus in the countries of Western Europe, since it has manifested itself and been contained on the periphery – notably in Poland. In the 1990s two walls, which had divided Europe for several decades after the Second World War ceased to exist. One of those was the boundary between the socialist bloc and the Western Europe.

The other, far less often mentioned, was the strictly guarded border between the USSR and Moscow's satellite countries. As a result of these changes the most important inflow into post-communist Poland was the brief, mass international shuttle movement of citizens of the former Soviet Union. This movement was already termed in the literature as *primitive mobility*<sup>i</sup> (Iglicka, 2001). It is important to stress at this point that this kind of mobility had never occurred before. Therefore, we may say, that Poland became not only a target area for ex-Soviets but also a laboratory of new population processes.

Looking at the phenomenon of shuttle mobility from Polish perspective alone, at first Poles perceived the *primitive mobility* mainly as a threat as well as Western Europeans. Eventually, however, that mobility revealed more positive aspects than negative ones. The enormous circulation of visitors from the former Soviet Union who came to Poland to buy products for export and re-export brought such benefits as: an inflow of foreign currency, partial mitigation of a chronically negative official balance of payments, local economic development in a number of regions, an increase in job opportunities in those regions, enhanced competition on labour markets, etc.

Therefore it may not be surprising that Polish migration policy has been to some extent in favour of this kind of mobility. For example, for the citizens of the main sending countries as Ukraine, Belarus and Russia visa regime was introduced by Polish government on a very last moment before the enlargement i.e. in the Autumn 2003.

However, the new and widespread spatial mobility of citizens of the former Soviet Union was not only a social and demographic blip but, a harbinger of real immigration. Recently, after a decade of penetration of Polish merchandise and labour markets by petty-traders and seasonal workers from the East, one can observe, that many of those people, having come to terms with the restrictions in Western Europe against mobility from the 'East', have started contemplating long-term or permanent residence in Poland. This is especially true for workers and traders who have already established networks in Poland.

Other important fact, just very recently discovered by Poles is that all Central European countries and Poland among them, are now in the preliminary stage of an inflow of more stable immigrants flows not only from the former Soviet Union countries but from the far East and from the West (managerial migration and, return migration of Poles).

One can observe during the 1990s the slow transformation of Poland from one of the biggest sending countries in the CEE region into a country of net immigration and transit. Completely new and exotic for this part of Europe groups of foreigners as, for instance, Vietnamese, Chinese and Armenians are rapidly forming. Their arrival takes all forms of

inflow, from illegal entry, temporary stay and arranged marriages through to the setting-up a business and permanent settlement. This is a beginning of processes of a 'new' ethnic diversity and also the creation of new ethnic consciousness.

Perhaps because this is just a beginning of new social processes, research on different aspects of immigrants' stay in Poland as e.g. possible modes of integration or a lack of integration or discrimination against foreigners is at the moment almost not existing. A pioneering projects on discrimination against old and new ethnic minorities and modes of integration of new immigrants' groups were conducted just very recently (Halik and Nowicka, 2002, Iglicka, 2003).

The communist Poland did not know the phenomenon of mass immigration. Problems concerning immigrants' civic participation and, integration or discrimination of the others were largely ignored in a society believed to be uni-cultural and uni-ethnic. And, to say the truth, these problems are ignored or silenced even nowadays. It had not been until the collapse of the regime (in 1989) when the consequences of ethnic homogeneity were revealed. In the social sphere the hypocrisy of the communist authorities and thus the lack of appropriate provisions had allowed the proliferation of discriminative attitudes and practices that had never been openly discussed. In this state of mind the Poles discovered suddenly that there are people of other nationality or ethnicity living next door. The shock was lesser if these others spoke Polish, had Polish citizenship and had lived there for generations. However, as it was already mentioned, in the last decade Poland became a host to thousands of :

- Immigrants both legal and illegal
- Refugees;
- Repatriates from the former USSR.

Legal immigrants:

- Stock of immigrants (permanent residents of Poland)

This section draws entirely on the preliminary results of the population census that was carried out in May 2002 (PC 2002). The detailed data concerning migratory flows into Poland were collected for the first time in Poland post-war history and according to some experts there are serious underestimates already observed. Even analysts from the Central Statistical Office (the body responsible for the Census structure and data collection) say that the 'migration part' failed. Therefore one should analyse the trends below with caution. According to PC 2002 in the period between 1989 and 2002, 85,5 thousand people moved (or returned) to Poland from abroad. Women constituted 51 per cent of all movers. 'Actual foreigners' (people without Polish citizenship), who became permanent residents of Poland during the transition period comprised 17 per cent (14,5 thousand) of the total. The remaining population included either Polish citizens who moved back to Poland (return migration) or the second generation of Polish emigrants, who decided to settle in their parents' homeland. In most cases, these so-called reemigrants hold multiple citizenships. The former countries of residence were: Germany (27 per cent), the USA (14 per cent), Ukraine (6 per cent), Italy, Canada, United Kingdom and France.

- Stock of temporary immigrants (permanent residents of other countries than Poland)

In May 2002, at the time of PC, 34,1 thousand people, being permanent residents of other countries, had been residing in Poland on a temporary basis for at least two months. They originated mainly from Ukraine (22 per cent), Germany (13 per cent), Russia (6 per cent), Belarus (6 per cent), the USA (5 per cent), Armenia (4 per cent), the United Kingdom (3 per cent), France (3 per cent) and Vietnam (3 per cent). Two out of three temporary immigrants have been already residing in Poland for over twelve months, i.e. they could be considered as long-term immigrants (not having a status of permanent residents).

One out of four temporary immigrants held Polish citizenship (7,7 thousand). Of these 3,4 thousand were multiple citizenship holders. The remaining (24,1 thousand, i.e. 70 per cent) were 'actual foreigners' – without Polish citizenship.

- Labour migrants in Poland

Currently (2002) there are 40,500 foreigners working legally on the territory of Poland. The number is given on the basis of all work permits issued for this year and comprises all types of employees, from low skilled construction workers, to highly qualified managers of international companies. Only part of them aims at permanent immigration involving settlement. Their motives for coming to Poland vary substantially, the labour factor not being the main drive. The economic purpose might be connected with self-development, thus temporary immigration to Poland can signify future profits.

- Country of birth, citizenship and nationality

According to PC 2002, 37.3 million persons (96.4 per cent of the total population) were born in Poland (in post-war territory) whereas 775,300 (two per cent) were born abroad (including territories that belonged to Poland before World War II). In a case of 385,000 persons, due to the interviewers inaccuracy, the country of birth remained unknown.

As for as citizenship, over than 98 per cent of permanent residents of Poland, which had been interviewed during PC 2002, were of Polish citizenship, of which 1.2 per cent (444,900) held not only Polish but also other citizenship. The category of dual citizenship holders embraced 279,600 ( 62.9 per cent) German citizens, 30,100 (6.8 per cent) US citizens, 14,500 (3.3 per cent) Canadian citizens, 7,300 French citizens and, almost one thousand citizens of the Ukraine.

40,200 persons held only foreign citizenship. In this category, Germans (7,900), Ukrainians (5,400) and Russians (3,200) predominated. Moreover, the information on the nationality in the case of 659 persons in this group i.e. persons holding foreign citizenship only had been missing.

#### Illegal migrants:

According to Polish Ministry of Economy and Labour estimates there are about 100,000-500,000 foreigners working illegally each year in Poland. The majority of them come from the East (particularly the former Soviet Union). Men work mainly in construction, forestry and fruit farming. Women work also in fruit farming and besides they are hired in a gray sphere of an economy mainly as seamstresses, housekeepers, and nurses for elderly and babysitters. According to some estimates there are about 30,000 Vietnamese in Poland, at least have of this number being constituted by illegal migrants. It is impossible to estimates the number of illegal migrants created by failed asylum seekers. Definitely majority of them disappeared from Poland but (as it was already mentioned) some of them jointed quiet a big cluster of illegals.

#### Refugees:

The inflow of asylum seekers, albeit relatively small in numbers, continues to play an important role in the inflow of foreigners to Poland if only for its high proportion relative to other migratory movements to Poland and its largely irregular character. Since the year 2003 a number of applications for a refugee status has been declining in the 'old EU member states' but simultaneously it has been growing in the associate countries. In the year 2003 the number of applications for a refugee status grew in Poland by 34 per cent and, reached the level of 6,900. Since 1991 (when Geneva Convention on asylum seekers was signed by Poland) till the year 2002 only 46,800 people have applied for a refugee status in Poland. This status had been granted to 1887 persons (4%). Since the year 2003 till the end of September 2004 already 11,500 applied for a refugee status in Poland, majority of them



constituted Chechens (more than 9,000 people). On 1 September 2003, a separate Act on Protection of Aliens came into force. Among other changes to asylum regime in Poland, the introduction of the tolerated status seems to be of the utmost importance. It allows rejected asylum seekers who cannot come back to their country of origin to seek protection in Poland. Tolerated status gives a foreigner a right to work (without work permit) and to a health and a social care on condition of having a registered address in Poland. Needless to say that in case of foreigners who do not speak Polish language, do not know Polish culture and, do not have any institutional help it is quite impossible to register their place of living. Officially it is said that the tolerated status is a solution to the problem of large number of rejected asylum seekers who after the completion of asylum procedure were left completely unassisted by the Polish state. As a result they often joined illegal migrants staying and working in Poland and/or tried to illegally get into the West. So far 279 Chechens obtained tolerated status in Poland.

The asylum seekers in Poland usually cross the border illegally, as the majority of asylum seekers in the world today do. The first months after arrival are spent in one of the refugee centers. There are nine such centers in Poland. The government spends monthly 1600 PLN (ca. 400 euro) on each asylum seeker. The sum, an average monthly salary in Warsaw, apparently does not influence the standard of living.

While in the refugee centers the asylum seekers are free to move in and out within the given timetable. They do not have any organized activities, apart from the Polish language course for children. Thus many of them try to get some illegal odd jobs. They also try to get in touch with other refugees and immigrants in order to build a network of acquaintances for the future. The serious problem of Polish asylum system is the lengthy procedure. The periods from six months up to three years of awaiting the decision were reported. This definitely exceeds the three months procedure declared in the Alien Act. What is alarming is the fact that this happens now, when Poland gets relatively small share of all asylum seekers coming to Europe.

Asylum seekers in Poland have the right to the state protection. While awaiting the decision in the refugee centers they are entitled to accommodation, full board, healthcare, money allowance, material help, and assistance if they want to leave Polish territory. In case of the status refusal, the asylum seeker can always present the appeal. During the awaiting the second decision s/he still receives aid from refugee center. The second negative decision comes within 1-2 months.

The protection of refugee centers must not exceed three months after the refugee status has been granted. The refugees with the status leave for the outside world and begin the difficult path to integration. For many the stay in Poland ends in this very moment. The decision depends on the network in other countries. Those with limited possibilities choose to stay and hope for better times.

The only governmental program for refugees lasts one year. The provincial authorities run it. The refugees receive monthly payment, they are helped with finding a flat. They are also registered in the Labour Offices. The participation is not automatic – the condition is to frequent Polish language course offered as an element of the program. After a year the integration aid stops and refugees can use the support offered by social assistance centers. It is obvious that a mere twelve months period cannot guarantee any successful integration.

The most important problem is the housing. The refugees cannot easily find accommodation. There are fewer flats than refugees participating in the program. Some of them have to find on their own a place to live and they face many obstacles.

Refugees consider the housing a starting point for further insertion into society. The rent, especially in Warsaw, is very high, and finally they are caught in a situation when they

earn money only to pay for it. They are very often forced to change houses, and thus they have the feeling of constant lack of stabilisation.

The other important factor in integration process is employment. Refugees can be employed on the same terms as Polish citizens. The difficult economic situation of Poland urges refugees to look for some other solutions e.g. employment in the gray sphere of the economy. Majority of them understand perfectly that Poland cannot afford the integration program as it is offered in the West European countries. Especially in the last two years the economic slow down hit the Polish society. The refugees see the growing problem of unemployment and they clearly assume their right to demand jobs is somehow questionable. They feel to be guests who happened to overstay. In the situation when their basic needs (housing and employment) cannot be satisfied, they seek some other way to keep their human dignity. The trips to Germany are common among Chechens. Through establishing and cherishing the contacts with the extended family on the other side of the border many of them start the series of the shuttle migration. This type of migration, popular also among the Poles, allows them to support the families in Warsaw. Some of them decide to stay in the new country. This second step of the migration becomes more common together with the growing recession in Poland.

#### Repatriates:

According to the Polish law, the repatriates are not foreigners. Their status has been defined in the Repatriation Act of November 9, 2000. It must be said, that although the Repatriation Act has been in force since January 2001, the real repatriation started many years earlier, initiated by the national campaign of the Church and right-wing parties. It is important to mention, that the repatriates are people who know Poland, who have some sort of network in this country (local authorities, extended family, friends) and almost in all cases they had the support of the integration program at some stage of the repatriation process.

The draft of the Repatriation Act was shaped after the regulations operative in other European countries, Germany in the first place. The provision is based on ideological concept of the national bound, and thus the obligation of the Polish nation towards the descendant of the patriots displaced forcefully to the East. Interestingly enough the Act merely provides for the repatriation from the territories of the Asian republics of the ex-USSR and, more specifically from Kazakhstan. Nevertheless, the repatriation from other areas could be allowed in a special government decree, provided that persecution of Polish minority took place.

A person coming within the framework of the repatriation is reimbursed with the one-way trip by train from Kazakhstan to Poland (the ticket for the property transport is also refunded). Repatriates are granted Polish citizenship almost automatically. Two months after having received citizenship the following measures are foreseen: one money transfer amounting to the double average salary for each family member, to cover the expenses of establishment in a new household; allowance for education of minors; reimbursement of any needed renovation or adaptation of the offered accommodation (this money is transferred in the two-year span).

The employment for the repatriates is preferential. The local administration can refund a part of the following expenses related to the repatriate: salary, social security tax, bonuses, equipment of the workplace, training. The right to this funding is valid during five years since the denization, and it can be effective in two years, provided that the employment is guaranteed for four years. If the repatriate cannot find employment in her/his profession, the local authority can address a potential employee and offer reimbursement the cost of training, provided that employment is guaranteed for two years. Another important provision is a national register of accommodation and employment possibilities for repatriates.

In practice, the question of employment, and thus of gaining independence, is solved for some newcomers. All depends on the local community they came to live in. The repatriates often are misinformed and thus they cannot reduce the obstacles to employment.

The persons with the repatriation status get Polish citizenship; therefore they have the right to the social security on the same terms as Poles do. They get welfare if unemployed, some get the pension. They are also victims of Polish survival strategies – they can find employment, but only illegally, as many Poles in the poorer regions of the country. The most successful were settlements where the local administration took care of a complex repatriation service and engaged the local community. Decent housing and employments thus not only may protect the repatriates from entering the welfare chain, but also they provide the basis for further integration. For data on repatriates see *Statistical tables*: table 4 and 5.

#### Citizenship Applications:

According to art.8.1 of the Act on Citizenship, a foreigner can be granted Polish citizenship if s/he has resided on the Polish territory at least 5 years on the basis of the permit to settle. However, art. 8.2 of the Act sets forth an exception from the 5-year-residence requirement by stating that in exceptionally justified cases, not included in the Act, a foreigner can be granted Polish citizenship even if the above requirements are not met. It pertains not only to a foreigner residing in Poland shorter than 5 years on the basis of the permit to settle, but also to a foreigner who does not stay in Poland, but who is resident abroad. This exception pertains to the ethnic Poles arriving into Poland on the basis of the repatriation program and to some waves of Polish emigrants who in order to emigrate in the past had to resign their Polish citizenship. In these cases all applications are considered individually by the President of the Republic of Poland. A supplementary opinion about the given case is provided by the President of the Office for Repatriation and Foreigners. If the Polish citizenship is granted, it is extended also to the children of the applicants; if the child is over 16, s/he must decide in favor or against of becoming Polish citizen.

In the period from January 1, 2004 to October 31, 2004, the number of applications for citizenship reached 5106 (see statistical tables: table 6, figure1 and 3). Over the past 11 years, the number of the citizenships granted based on the Article 8 of the Act underwent quite a few fluctuations. What is important, it seems that the number of approved applications is growing again to the level of 1992. This might be combined with the growing number of foreigners, who finally can meet the 5-year residence requirement and with the return migration of Poles who emigrated during the communist era. As far as the top nationalities, in 2003 Polish citizenship was granted 1471, primarily to the nationals of Ukraine (426), Lithuania (128), Sweden (105), Belarus (102), Israel (101), Germany (60), Kazakhstan (56), and Russia (51). In 2004, so far, the applications for citizenship came mainly from the nationals of Ukraine (1305), Russia (617), Israel (493), Belarus (419), and Germany (254). As for applications coming from such countries as Israel, US, Germany or Sweden the majority of cases pertains to Polish emigrants who emigrated from communist Poland during the 1960s or 1970s and in order to be able to leave the country or get foreign citizenship had to resign their Polish citizenship.

#### Development of immigration policy in Poland:

The year 2004 was important with regards to (1) Poland's accession to the EU and resulting changes in relevant legislation concerning asylum law and the conditions of entry and stay of EU citizens and their family members in Poland; (2) market labour regulations concerning foreigners. Since May 1, 2004, Poland is bound by the asylum law in force in the EU member states. This concerns especially the Regulation of the European Council of February 18, 2003

(so called Dublin II), which provides the rules for determining the country responsible for asylum procedure.

On May 1, 2004, the Act on the conditions of entry and stay of EU citizens and their family members, adopted in July 2002, entered in force. Therefore, since May 1<sup>st</sup>, 2004, four main acts govern the situation and status of foreigners in Poland: the 2003 Aliens Act, the 2003 Act on Protections of Aliens, the 2000 Repatriation Act and the above mentioned 2002 Act concerning EU citizens.

On June 1<sup>st</sup>, 2004, the Act on Promotion of Employment and Institutions of the Labour Market entered in force, which regulates among others the access of the EU citizens and other foreigners, to the Polish labour market. Protection of the Polish labour market and the issues of high levels of unemployment continue to be at the core of the policy of employment of foreigners on the Polish labour market. Foreigners cannot compete for jobs with Polish citizens. The previous regulation, i.e. the Act on Employment and Countering Unemployment of 194, allowed employment without a work permit only two categories of aliens: recognized refugees and settlement permit holders. Separate regulations allowed foreign employees of other categories to work without the work permit, for e.g. university teachers. Since the entry into force of the Act on Protection of Aliens in September 1<sup>st</sup> 2003, the tolerated status or temporary protection status holders can also undertake employment without a work permit. The new Act of 2004 enumerates further categories of foreigners who are not obliged to obtain a work permit. Apart from the ones mentioned above, the list includes family members of Polish citizens who are EU citizens, foreigners (spouses and children below 21 years and dependant children irrelevant of their age) who are not EU citizens and were granted a temporary residence permit in Poland as a consequence of marriage to a Polish citizen, foreigners granted temporary residence permit in Poland as a consequence of marriage to a recognized refugee, tolerated status or temporary protection status holders, as well as to a foreigner having settlement permit. Work permits are also not required from foreigners performing jobs on the ground of international agreements and contracts to which Poland is a party, and also foreigners employed by sub-contracting foreign companies operating in Poland.

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 2004 one year has passed since the implementation of the visa regime with Belarus, Russia and Ukraine. Between October 2003 and September 2004, more than 1,100 thousand visas were issued in 12 Polish consulates located in Belarus, the Russian Federation and Ukraine. Ukraine took a lead, with more than 600 thousand visas issued to its citizens. Approximately 300 thousand visas were issued to citizens of Belarus and around 200 thousand visas were issued to Russians. It must be noted, that despite the widely reported inefficiency of Polish consulates in the first months of the implementation of the visa regime, the situation has markedly improved. In general, a short-term visa (for up to 90 days in the period of six months), a long-term visa (for up to one year in the period of maximum five years) and a visa with work permit constitute three main types of visas issued to foreigners. To be eligible for a visa a foreigner needs to prove his/her sufficient financial standing while in Poland. Since the 1<sup>st</sup> May 2004 a requirement to possess a health insurance upon entry to Poland was introduced.

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## 2. MAJOR ISSUES DISCUSSED WITH RELATION TO IMMIGRATION

The year of 1989 marks an equally turning point in the migration process in Poland. Profound political, legal and institutional changes in the country brought about, *inter alias*, opening borders and abolition of limits on movement. The fact of arrival of various categories of foreigners and their numbers created a qualitatively new migratory situation. At the same time, all the countries of Central and Eastern Europe were undergoing change. A possibility of East-West mass migratory movements was seriously considered in light of the break-up of Soviet Union. There were fears of the eruption of ethnic conflicts and acts of violence, which could facilitate the exodus as well as large-scale returns of the Poles to the homeland.

The appearance of a lot of foreigners – mostly from beyond the eastern border on Polish streets had undoubtedly enlivened the urban landscape. However, foreigners soon became the source of new troubles and danger. Although they generally declared tourism as the purpose for their trips, the vast majority came to Poland to make money quickly and easily. With increasing frequency, foreigners became the subject of negative reports in the mass media and this, in turn, reinforced adverse attitudes towards them. Generally, one may divide articles about foreigners in Polish press at the beginning of the 1990s into four main thematic groups:

1. The first and the largest thematic group consisted of articles concerning the influx of immigrants into Poland. In these articles immigrants were often viewed as a threat to the nation, since many of them crossed border illegally or remained in Poland beyond the time permitted by their visas.
2. The second, slightly smaller, group comprised articles reporting criminal behaviour by immigrants in Poland, immigrants who disturbed public order and broke the law.
3. The third group consisted of articles which described the economic activities of immigrants. Such material presented immigrants as people looking for work and whose activities brings benefits not only for them but also for Poles.
4. The last thematic group was relatively small and included articles reporting the daily lives of immigrants in Poland, their striving to settle and to lead normal life.

The fears of journalists were raised in equal degree by the presence of immigrants group with such characteristics as a need to integrate, self-organisation and loyalty – as with, for example, Armenians and Vietnamese – and by group characterised by loose relationships and poor self control, such as Ukrainians, Belarussians, Russians, Bulgarians and Romanians. In the case of the former, fears were caused by the energy, systematicness and subordination which favours the development of organised crime structures as well as economic activity which threatens Polish firms. In the case of the latter, anxiety was fuelled by such features as impulsiveness, recklessness and a lack of moral scruples which led, in some cases, to brutal criminal behaviours.

The Polish State was neither prepared to that new migratory situation at the time nor to render assistance and care for the asylum-seekers arriving at the beginning of the 1990s. in ever greater numbers. Accordingly, new structures and new mechanisms were being gradually built within the state administration.

Migratory movements and their consequences raised concerns about the state security in view of Poland's precarious geopolitical location, absence of legal foundations for the policy on aliens as well as of effective state structures and procedures, aggravated by the shortage of funds and relative lack of experience in dealing with problems of the kind. It was not the rapid rise in the number of border entries by the citizens of the USSR and later of the former USSR, alone which fuelled the anxiety. Of greater concern was the onset of organized criminal activities, smuggling of illicit drugs and dangerous substances, car thefts, prostitution, illegal trade and related financial operations, document forgeries and arms trade

on unprecedented scale. The bazaar trade and the presence of foreigners on the Polish labour market also raised some controversy, reflected in the public opinions on migrations. The issue of limits on the arrivals of the citizens of the former USSR was current in the debate. Several experts concurrently pointed to various public security threats and called for a state response.

These opinions, prevalent both in the public and among the experts, were a clear message for the politicians. Clear expectations of law and order built up a definite background to the legislative process. Polish authorities took a two-track approach to the migration policy. On the one hand, they aimed at settling the basic issues through international law and bilateral intergovernmental agreements. On the other hand, they set about adapting the national legal norms to the new political and social status quo and establishing an institution responsible for the state's migration policy. Building and amending the Polish body of law on aliens ushered a debate on the model of the national migration policy.

It is interesting to mention at this place that the immigrants' portrayal in the mass-media has been changed dramatically since the second half of the 1990s. As it was mentioned before at the beginning of the 1990s the elements of fear or threat prevailed in the articles concerning presence of foreigners in Poland. Journalists concentrated on criminal activities undertaken by foreigners, different aspects of culture or religion not welcomed by Poles. When however, it turned out that the mass inflow of foreigners did not occur on the Polish soil, that on the contrary to expectations, majority of foreigners consists of decent, cheap workers, that some of them decided to choose Poland as their place to live in peace the media changed their style. Since the second half of the 1990s one can observe an idealistic elements describing foreigners' presence in Poland. There are now plenty of articles about the revival of multiculturalism and the cultural differentiation started to be perceived not as a threat but as an element enriching Polish culture.

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Mrozowski Maciej, 2003: 'Obrazy cudzoziemcow i imigrantow w Polsce a prasie polskiej, in K. Iglicka (red), *Integracja czy dyskryminacja? Polskie wyzwania i dylematy u progu wielokulturtowosci*, ISP, Warsaw.

### 3. INSTITUTIONAL SETTING FRAMING IMMIGRANT PARTICIPATION

There are no structures enabling immigrants to influence political decisions at local or national level. There are no immigrants' parties. The question of voting rights at local level for non-citizens is not on the political agenda of any party. Conditions enabling immigrants incorporation into labour markets are of restrictive nature. The Act on Employment and Countering Unemployment of 1998 says that a foreigner may be employed only if there are no Poles wanting to take a given job.

One can not state whether there are restrictive or encouraging conditions of institutional frames of immigrants participation because the question of possible forms of civic participation of immigrants in Poland has not been discussed either by policy makers at any level, or NGO's or immigrants themselves. The existing immigrants groups (see part II) are still too weak and too new on the Polish soil to create organisations, parties or associations

focused on civic participation. They mainly concentrate on social and economic situation of their existence in Poland. Few others focus on religious or cultural activities of their fellow-countrymen.

Therefore in this chapter I will describe institutional frames concerning civic participation of old ethnic minorities. This does not pertain exactly to the idea of the authors of this project however, new immigrants groups now in the process of formation in Poland (such as Ukrainians and Armenians – see chapter III) tend to bind with their ethnic group living in Poland for centuries. So far almost any new immigrants structures have been created only within or by the organisations set up by the old ethnic minorities

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Changes in minority policy began with two significant events. The first was the appointment in August 1989 of the Sejm Committee of National and Ethnic Minorities; the second a policy statement in September 1989 by Tadeusz Mazowiecki (Prime Minister at that time) in which he declared to the Sejm that Poland is also a motherland of various ethnic groups. Thus, for the first time in Poland's post-war history the question of national minorities was considered a major issue of state policy by the Sejm and the Prime Minister.

Shortly after the accession of the new 'Solidarity' government, minority affairs were removed from the jurisdiction of the Interior Ministry and placed under the control of a new office within the Ministry of Culture. This decision was symbolic of the changed functions of the state and its obligations toward minorities. The state became a sponsor rather than a supervisor. The Sejm Committee started work on amendments of the Polish Constitution to strengthen the defence of minority rights and create the office of ombudsman for national minorities, which was directly responsible to the Prime Minister. While the need to protect minority rights was supported by all responsible Polish politicians, the legal framework for ensuring such protection was virtually non-existent. There was no agreement as to what sort of legal form minority protection should take and whether 'group rights' should be enshrined in the law.

Regulation of the status of ethnic minorities in the Polish political and legal system after 1989 was a result of two trends:

- The establishment of good, friendly relations with all neighbouring states and, as a consequence, the stabilization of its geopolitical position in Central Europe;
- The establishment of an efficient system for protection of human and citizens' rights, including ethnic minorities.

The new Constitution of 1997 contains an article dealing with the protection of national and ethnic minorities and also some other provisions of considerable significance regarding this issue. Article 35 of the new Constitution provides that:

- 1) The republic of Poland ensures Polish citizens belonging to national and ethnic minorities freedom of maintaining and developing their own language, their own customs and culture.
- 2) National and ethnic minorities have the right to establish educational and cultural institutions, institutions design to protect religious identity, as well as to participate in the resolutions on issues connected with their cultural identity.

The Constitution restricts the protection of minority rights to people with Polish citizenship, at the same time providing separate protection of the rights of foreigners (art.37). In fact, art.37 states that limitations to constitutionally guaranteed rights for foreigners may be decided by statute, although it is not specified which rights can be limited and whether any specific guarantees in the adoption of this kind of statutes would be placed (for instance, a special voting system in Parliament necessary for adoption of such statutes).

As far bilateral treaties are concerned, by including appropriate clauses in these treaties, Poland has played a significant role in establishing the principles for the protection of minority rights in Central Europe. According to some experts, it has thereby contributed to the development of a model solution for minority problems. The issue of protection of minority rights in bilateral treaties concluded by Poland in the 1990s was discussed in a broad context. The treaties confirmed, on the one hand, the inviolability of frontiers and state territorial integrity while, on the other, put this protection into the framework of bilateral political relations maintained on the basis of 'cooperative reciprocity' and compromise. The treaties not only protected minority rights in Poland but also those of Polish origin living in signatory states. For the first time since the Second World War, these treaties made it possible for Poland to shape its frontiers with neighbouring states in terms of common values like democracy and human rights.

Apart from international commitments stemming from its bilateral treaties, Poland has undertaken numerous obligations resulting from ratified conventions dealing with the protection of human rights and rights of minorities elaborated within the framework of the United Nations and the Council of Europe. Poland is also active in the work of the OSCE, whose standards of minority protection have been applied in its system of bilateral treaties. It also signed (in 1995) an Instrument of Central European Protection of Minority Rights within the framework of the Central European Initiative.

#### Protection of educational and cultural rights of ethnic minorities

Recent legal regulations enable minorities residing in Poland to study their native language and to be instructed in these languages. As compared to previous regulates, they substantially broaden the scope of educational opportunities for minorities by extending education for children in kindergartens and vocational schools, reducing the minimum number of pupils in classes and inter-school groups (groups of pupils from more than one school), but also by introducing bilingual certificates.

#### Religion policy and the protection of religious rights

The Act of 17 May 1989 on guarantees of freedom of conscience, ensures freedom of choice of religion, as well as the individual and collective expression, privately and publicly, of religion. Citizens of any confession, and those who do not believe in God, have equal rights in public, political, economic, social and cultural life. The situation of minority churches is regulated by several statutes on the relations between the state and certain religious groups (churches) which have been adopted by the Parliament in the 1990s.

#### Cultural activities of ethnic minorities

Associations of ethnic minorities lead activities aimed at organising artistic events, running amateur artistic groups and publishing newspapers, magazines and books in their native languages. As a majority of national minority members live in the countryside, cultural activities usually have the character of local folklore events (such as galas and open-air events which often last for a few days). These activities are financed mainly by state subsidies allocated by the Ministry of Culture and Arts. These subsidies usually cover about 80 per cent of expenses of minority organisations. The remaining funds are obtained from membership fees, from foreign aid, and by members of the associations running their own fund-raising activities. State subsidies are generally earmarked for financial specific cultural events and not for covering permanent costs connected with the functioning of an organisation (such as salaries of full-time workers or rent on premises). Subsidies granted for financing the activities of minority organisations and cultural initiatives are the major resources available to these organisations. The bulk of minority organisations do not have sufficient financial means from fund-raising activities, emigration circles abroad or governments of countries of minority origin.

#### Participation of ethnic minorities in local and parliamentary elections



The Acts on elections to local authorities does not provide for any preferences for minorities. During local elections held in the 1990s, representatives of national minorities gained, in principle, representation proportional to their numbers in communes.

Provisions of the Act of 1991, 1993 and 1997 on elections to the Sejm (lower chamber of the Parliament) included special electoral preferences for minority organisations (election committees) which are not included in the Act on elections to the Senate (the upper chamber of the Polish parliament). The Acts provided for exemption for registered organisations of ethnic minorities from the requirement to gain at least five per cent of the total number of votes cast nationwide to be included on a constituency list of MP's and from gaining at least seven per cent of the total number of votes cast nationwide to be included on a national list of MP's.

However, ethnic minorities in Poland are scattered and lack funds. These two factors do not help them to gain seats in the parliament. Generally speaking, only organisations of the German minority in Silesia are strong enough to win parliamentary seats. Electoral success may be achieved by the Belarussian minority also but on the condition that it activates its 'ethnic' electorate. Apart from these two minorities, the remaining minorities have, in practise, no chance to obtain any seats in the parliament on their own. This is why their representatives are placed on the election lists of other parties so as to try to gain steady representation in the Sejm.

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### THIRD SECTOR'S ACTORS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS DEALING WITH IMMIGRANTS ISSUES

-A liaison Office of the UNHCR was established in 1992 in connection with the admittance of the first refugees' group where no legal instruments and technical possibilities to secure their protection were present. The role of the UNHCR in the case of Poland was very interesting – at first it concentrated on co-operation with government's agents to develop effective procedures as well as refugees' centres. With time there has been an evolution towards the representation of refugees' and asylum seekers' interests, especially towards government institutions as well as organisations, which provide integration programs.

-The Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights – provides permanent assistance and advice on legal issues: several lawyers are at the disposal of asylum seekers and refugees.

-Polish Humanitarian Action – within the Polish Humanitarian Action, which has the task of providing help to victims of war and disaster in Poland and abroad as well as to refugees, functions a Refugee's Assistance Centre. The assistance program for refugees support a medical aid. Particular attention is paid to the integration process of foreigners who are recognised as refugees. Since 1996 PHA has been running The Refugee's house where homeless asylum seekers can find a shelter. **The promotion actions (e.g. Refugee's Day in co-operation with another NGO's) and educational activities are of great importance.**

-The Polish Red Cross – takes care of the refugees. The role of the PRC was enormous, especially in 1990 and 1991, when no mechanism which would ensure the protection from the states' authorities was present.

-Other organisations involved in activities directed at helping refugees: Caritas, Equilibre Foundation, Polish YMCA and YVCA, The Breslaff Centre and the Woman Promotion Centre.

## **PART II: ACTIVE CIVIC PARTICIPATION OF THIRD COUNTRY IMMIGRANTS IN POLAND**

The democratisation process of Poland's political system, which began in 1989, completely changed the way in which public life functions. The state withdrew from its previous function of organiser and 'censor' of public life. Transformation of the state legal system resulted in the lifting of restrictions on forming associations and on the political activities of citizens (Mucha, 1992). These transformations also affected national minorities, for which the abolition of the principle 'one-minority – one organisation' was of great importance. Under the Act of 7 April 1989 on associations, representatives of the national minorities enjoy the freedom to establish associations and organisations. Until the end of 1997, over 130 new organisations of national minorities were established and officially registered. However, their exact number is not known as there is no central register of the national minorities organisations. The highest number of organisations (over sixty) was founded by the German minority. At the same time, the number of the Ukrainian organisations increased from one to a dozen or so, as did those for the Belarusian and Roma/Gypsy minorities.

The association of national minorities form a mosaic in terms of forms, sizes and activities, but a socio-cultural association is the basic form of their organisation. The Belarussian minority is the only one in Poland which has its own political party, i.e. the Belarussian Democratic Alliance. The registered minority organisations encompass religious associations, scout and youth organisations, cultural foundations, and organisations representing interests of certain professional groups within the minorities (e.g. teachers, physicians or journalists). New associations have led to the public airing of minorities' interests and have given minorities a chance to act on an open public forum. The possibility to establish an institutional structure by minorities was both symbolic and constituted a substantial change in the status of national minorities in Poland. Their rights are now equal to those of other groups.

However, from the point of view of the active civic participation i.e. political parties or socio-cultural associations or other organisations of migrants and non-EU citizens in Poland the situation is rather dramatic<sup>ii</sup>. The situation in Poland reflects the way the issue of political participation of migrants is treated in most of the post-communist countries. Under the communist regime there was no question of granting officially any political influence to non-citizens residing in the country, who, anyway, were very few, as residence permits were granted under very restrictive conditions. Since the democratic transformation, the number of long-term migrants has considerably increased, and it is on the rise. Currently there are no structures enabling migrants to influence political decisions at any level. There are no consultative bodies, nor immigrants' parties. The question of voting rights at local level for non-citizens is not on the political agenda of any party. There is not even any public debate on the subject.

Therefore, civic participation of immigrants or minorities is examined in Polish literature from the point of view of the revival of ethnic consciousness in 1989 of old 'ethnic minorities' living in Poland for centuries mainly, and from the point on view of social and economic situation of immigrants who have started to arrive into Poland since the beginning of 1990s only. There are no other sources materials as grey literature or media reports on this issue.

In order to better understand Polish case I will firstly describe here briefly migratory problems on which Polish scientists focused in their research before and after 1989 and then will concentrate on the literature on civic participation of immigrants merely.

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Although Poland, as a consequence in borders' changes, has experience massive emigration and immigration fluxes immediately after the Second World, nearly no research was devoted to these phenomena until the eighties.

In the post-1945 period (till the late 1980s) international migration in Poland became an almost exclusive domain of historians who, struggling with the difficulty in access to the state archives and censorship, decided to trace changes in population mobility resulted from the Second World War's consequences such as e.g. boundaries changes and population displacement that followed (Piesowicz, 1988, Pilch and Zagorniak, 1984).

It was not as much forbidden but rather impossible to conduct a research on phenomenon of migration in Poland not only due to the 'official political line' but also simply because that there were no data collected on international population mobility on Polish territory. Central Statistical Office published only the overall number of those who emigrated from Poland by basic demographic features and accordingly with the official definition of emigration<sup>iii</sup>. Therefore, more specific databases on international migration in Poland that have recently been created pertain to the period not earlier than the beginning of the 1990s.

Migration research as such, and here I mean a research testing various theories and aspects of population mobility or creating new ones, did not exist during the communist period in Poland. Selected studies concentrated on some aspects of the old Polish diaspora spread all over the world. Only few others (mainly historical and descriptive) were conducted by researchers who were able to get access to archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This kind of research concentrated on the issue of the post-war repatriation of Poles from the Soviet Union, population mobility that took place on Polish territory and its political causes and consequences (Latuch, 1961, Wasilewska-Trenkner, 1973). Because unpublished police records constituted an important source for quoted above Latuch's work it was allowed to be published only in 1994.

A new political and socio-economic reality of the early 1990s added a new dimension to international population mobility in the whole Central and Eastern European region. A constant and huge outflow of Polish migrant workers to Federal Republic of Germany – traditionally the major country of destination for Polish migrants - was still observable. On the other hand Polish migrants started to target successfully completely new countries such as Italy, Greece or Belgium.

Since 1990 a considerable increase in the number of analyses of international migration in Poland has been recorded. A great majority of work published in the period 1990-1995 was based either on the official Polish statistics or statistics of major countries of destination for Polish migrants (Korcelli, 1991, Marek, 1992, Okolski, 1991, Slany, 1991, 1995, 1997, Stpiczynski, 1992).

Soon, it became more and more obvious that in order to understand current migrations, a fundamental research that would explain mechanisms of migratory behaviours of Poles before and during the transition period is needed. In the study of trends and mechanisms of migration from selected communes in some regions of Poland during the transition period were analysed in comparison to those observed in earlier periods. It focused on households' strategies and changes in migratory strategies of individuals: from settlement and long term migration to short-term and shuttle mobility (Jazwinska and Okolski, 1996, Iglicka, 1998, Iglicka, 2000).

The fact of arrival of various categories of foreigners and their numbers created a qualitatively new migratory situation after 1989. Social scientists have long studied the migratory consequences of shifting from peasant to a market society. It turned out at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that the shift from command economies to market mechanisms was equally important yet few social scientists have investigated, much less theorised this transformation. Therefore it seems that Iglicka's work (2001) is one of the first comprehensive analysis of the

trends and mechanisms of international migration from and into Poland since 1945 from the point of view of the enlargement of the European Union.

The underneath part of the chapter, the part devoted to the civic participation of third countries nationals in Poland will be based on the following publications in English: Hamilton, Iglicka, 2000; Grzymala-Kazłowska, 2002; Gorny, Ruspini; 2004, Iglicka, 2004.

Moreover in the text below I also quote publications in Polish only. I analyse the issue of the civic participation of third countries nationals in Poland from the perspective of recent arrivals into Poland Ukrainians, Vietnamese and Armenians. In fact these are the only three nationalities firstly very visible in numbers and, secondly visible on the social landscape in Poland. These are also the only third countries nationals to whom researchers in Poland have already paid some attention. Since however, due to the global situation, media in Poland, especially after September 11, paid also a lot attention to Muslim in Poland I will also analyse this group although their number is rather meaningless and activities not dynamic.

### Ukrainians

In a study on the spatial distribution of Ukrainians, who are the most numerous foreign-born population in Poland (understood as resident foreigners with a permission for settlement or temporary residence permit), it was noticed that they were registered in four types of locations: 1) large urban areas; 2) towns where Soviet garrisons had been located; 3) areas along the eastern border (ethnically Ukrainian) and 4) former German territories where Ukrainians and Lemkos were resettled in 1947. Jerczynski (1999) also noticed that a map of the territorial distribution of Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches coincides with where 'new' Ukrainians live. It proves that networks between 'old' and 'new' group play an important role in the spatial formation of the latter. Mixed marriages are another interesting phenomenon as far as new arrivals from Ukraine are concerned. It is not possible to state what percentage of these marriages are shams (if any), but a sudden growing trend may suggest that there are other factors (beyond the customary ones) behind Ukrainians' hasty willingness to marry Poles. So far, there have not been any in-depth anthropological studies on the 'new' Ukrainians community. The partial information that exists portrays dynamic, very young and young people, people who are rather not (so far) interested in maintaining their ethnicity while trying to settle in Poland. 'Survival strategy' seems to be most important for them. Furthermore, the 'new' Ukrainian group is not homogenous and there are many strategies and variants of them. It is possible, however, to distinguish some types. Firstly, those who are in Poland as seasonal workers or petty-traders with the aim to earn quick money and return home will engage in shuttle mobility as long as it is profitable. Here I predict a decrease in the numbers of petty-traders and an increase of seasonal workers. Secondly, those who want to settle legally will try to integrate with the majority group. They perceive Poland as a country of opportunities and do not want to be negatively stereotyped as being *Ruski* (a common, derogative term in Polish for all people from the former Soviet Union). With the further development of formal and informal networks and institutions, the numbers of Ukrainians granted visas with work permit and permission for settlement will grow. There is, however, an element in this group that treats Poland only as a transit stop on their way to the West. Therefore, we may assume that a third strategy, that is to obtain Polish citizenship (through application or marriage) in order to subsequently emigrate to the West, exists.

As yet, it is hard to draw any broad conclusions for this group regarding either the formative process of their new community or their future in the context of the reactions of government and local communities to their appearance. The process has only just begun.

The level of organisation among Ukrainians is not high, but has changed significantly since the Second World War and especially since 1990. One has to remember that the Ukrainians constitute one of the three largest indigenous national minorities in modern-day Poland, the other two being the Germans and the Belarussians. As for their civic participation

it is impossible to distinguish between old diaspora activities and 'new Ukrainians' activities yet. Such data simply do not exist. Furthermore, as it was already said, the new immigrants tend to concentrate along old diaspora circles and networks therefore one may assume that in the organisations established by old ethnic minority there are quite big numbers of participants from a new immigration.

In the years between 1945 and 1947 all forms of organised life among the Ukrainians in Poland were wiped out. This concerned not only formal institutions and organisations such as the church, political parties, military organisations and cultural groups, but even informal neighbourhood societies and circles, and individual and collective forms of ownership. Only after 1956 (Pudlo, 1993) was it possible for them to create cultural and educational organisations. Government policies tended to be restrictive and all forms of organised national activity – understood in the wide context – and culture were strictly controlled.

The main changes that made it possible to establish ethnic and national minority organisations occurred after 1989. The Ukrainian Social and Cultural Society (UTSK) was founded in 1956 and, until 1990, was the only recognised Ukrainian organisation in Poland (under the control of the Ministry of Interior). The UTSK had several thousand members, but in 1990 it was dissolved and was replaced by the Union of Ukrainians in Poland (ZUP) which currently has between 7,000 and 8,000 members and ten branches. Within the structure of the ZUP, the following organisations are currently active in Poland:

- The Ukrainian Union, founded in 1990, with about 250 members in eight branches;
- The Ukrainian Society of Teachers in Poland, opened in 1991, with 80 members in six branches;
- The Ukrainian Society of Doctors, founded in 1990, with forty-five members;
- the Lawyers Club, founded in 1991, with fifteen members;
- the Association of Businessman, founded in 1991 with forty-five members;
- the Ukrainian Youth Organisation *Piast*, opened in 1990 which has 200 members in fifteen branches.

There are also independent organisations such as:

- the Union of Ukrainians in Podlasie, formed in 1992 with its main office in Bielsko Podlaski; and
- the Independent Union of Ukrainian Youth, founded in 1988 (and registered in 1990) with fifty members.

In addition, there are also two foundations:

- the Foundation for Ukrainian Culture, and
- the Foundation of St. Włodzimierz the Baptist of the Kiev Ruthenians.

After 1989 the legal status of the Greek Catholic Church went through very profound change. Some churches and other church properties taken over by the Roman Catholic Church after the World War II started to return to the Orthodox or Greek Catholic Churches. One can also observe a revival of Ukrainian schooling in the 1990s. The number of pupils in Ukrainian schools, which had steadily declined through the 1970s and 1980s, has increased in numbers of both schools and pupils during the last five years (Pudlo, 1993).

### Vietnamese

The Vietnamese are a new and 'exotic' immigrant group who can be described as thriving and successful. Their influx to Poland can be linked to three phenomena. First, social networks existing between the Polish and Vietnamese societies developed as a result of student exchange programs that allowed thousands of the Vietnamese to study in communist Poland. For example, at its peak in 1972 over 800 Vietnamese students entered Polish universities.

Secondly, the Vietnamese perestroika that took place in 1986 had a great impact on the economic activity of the Vietnamese and their entrepreneurship and mobility. Thirdly, the opening of the Polish and other Eastern European borders at the beginning of the 1990s coincided with the emergence of economic opportunities connected with the transition period in that part of Europe.

At the end of the 1980s Vietnamese students and former students who had not returned to Vietnam started to establish and run small businesses in Poland. At the beginning of the 1990s they were joined by other Vietnamese, for instance ex-students who had gone back to Vietnam after finishing their studies, and who in the 1990s returned to Poland. At the same time, students', families, friends, and their neighbours arrived in Central Europe. Additionally, Poland attracted Vietnamese guest-workers unwelcome in Germany, former Vietnamese students from other post-communist countries regarded as not as well developed economically as Poland, and the Vietnamese who moved from the Czech Republic. Although over the course of time the Vietnamese coming to Poland have been less selective in terms of their education level and socio-economic position, even the last wave of the Vietnamese can be characterised as quite well educated and well off, and tending to come from urban areas.

It is difficult to estimate the number of Vietnamese in Poland due to their high spatial mobility and their status. Many migrants come to Poland as 'tourists', but remain there and work illegally. According to representatives of the Polish government the number of Vietnamese immigrants is estimated to be a maximum of 50,000, whereas the leaders of the community claim that in Poland there are no more than 20,000-30,000 Vietnamese. Although numbers might be not very high, the Vietnamese are a very visible immigrant group whose members are often encountered in the streets, especially in big cities (Halik, Nowicka, 2002).

The Vietnamese have the most developed ethnic institutions among ethnic groups in Poland, and the heart of the Vietnamese community in Poland is the 'Stadion Dziesięciolecia'<sup>iv</sup>. The Vietnamese play a significant role in Polish markets, especially in Warsaw and other large cities. The research 'Warsaw Area Studies' shows that on the main market in Warsaw alone, and its immediate surroundings, there are at least 1,200 Vietnamese stalls. The Vietnamese are also present in the other major open markets in Warsaw as well as in other Polish cities. In addition, according to leaders of that community, there are between 300-400 Vietnamese fast food restaurants in the capital and 30-40 big restaurants. The number of large restaurants in the whole country may reach 100, not to mention hundreds of snack bars (Grzymala-Kazłowska, 2002).

Beside being a place of work, the 'Stadion Dziesięciolecia' open market plays a crucial role for Vietnamese migrants in Poland. There are dozens of Vietnamese coffee shops, and at least a few shops with Vietnamese food, medicines, and newspapers (published both in Vietnam and in Poland). Here, Vietnamese services, such as hairdressing and video rentals, are on offer. The stadium integrates the Vietnamese migrants who organise themselves as a quasi-community. They exchange information, plan a common market strategy, organise social and cultural events, raise funds. The Vietnamese in Poland can be characterised in many respects as a self-contained ethnic group with a high level of co-operation and self-organisation. All members are obliged to act in a co-operative way and to accept the existing hierarchy. The majority of conflicts are re-solved within the ethnic group.

The role of the Vietnamese associations in organising Vietnamese migrants and creating their positive image in Poland is similar to that played by the strong and resilient ethnic associations in Hungary that integrate and organise Chinese migrants. Membership of the 'Socio-Cultural Association of Vietnamese in Poland' includes the socio-cultural (and often financial) elite of the Vietnamese consisting of 200-300 ex-students and their families. These people have been living in Poland for the longest time. Usually they have Polish citizenship or at least permission for settlement. They know the Polish language and culture

and are well integrated with Polish society. Members of that association act as leaders for the whole 'community'. Some of them occupy key positions in a second organisation, 'Solidarity and Friendship', which seeks to gather, organise and control all the Vietnamese migrants in Poland.

### Armenians

There were two migratory waves of Armenians into Poland. First, when Armenians settled in Poland's eastern marshlands in the late Middle Ages and the second occurred after the World War II, when about 99 per cent of those from the Polish eastern territories annexed by the USSR were repatriated. Armenians' existence in Poland frequently comes as a surprise to foreign academics. Repatriated or forcibly resettled from their old places in Ukraine and dispersed throughout Poland after the World War II, they scattered and settled in groups of a dozen families (and sometimes much fewer) in one place. Now they are almost totally assimilated. Religion and sometimes merely denomination is currently the only factor distinguishing Poles from Armenians, since they represent the remnants of close historical links with Oriental Europe and Central Asia; some of them are also Unites (Marciniak, 2000).

However, the traditional, long-settled Armenian community descended from the ancient Armenians, which is of about 15,000 strong, began to be strengthened in the 1990s by new immigrants, whose growing numbers may now equal half of the original community. There are some common features between these two groups but the differences are greater.

'Old' Polish Armenians abandoned their own language in the sixteen century without creating any dialect or pidgin language and adopted the languages of the dominant groups. Similarly, the third wave of Armenians in Poland is learning Polish rapidly.

'Old' Armenians are religious whereas the new immigrants, if they show any ties at all with a Church, they are only incidentally so. The third wave seems to be displaying the post-Soviet indifference in the matters of faith.

'Old' Armenians and their direct descendants stopped cultivating many of their customs, including cuisine. Contrary to this, the expansion of the 'new' Armenian ethnicity is strongly noticeable in the gastronomy sector. Specifically Armenian restaurants are increasing, in some others Armenian dishes are served. The activities of the Armenian Cultural Society are aimed at reviving Armenian native traditions.

Who are the 'new' Armenians in Poland? First of all, their arrival is a result of the drama in the Caucasus. Contrary to other asylum seekers in Poland, Armenians do not treat Poland mainly as a country of transit to the West. As far as asylum applications are concerned, Armenians are the only nationality present for each year of the whole 1992-1998 period. Other nations (with the exception of the former Yugoslavia) exemplify mainly some trends in the popularity of Poland as a gateway to Western Europe. According to the Border Guard statistics, Armenians were also the last among the seven most numerous nationalities who were stopped for crimes (illegal border crossing, false documents, and so on) at the frontiers.

For some, the road to Polish residence seems to be through application for a permission for settlement, for others through marriage with Polish citizens. The majority of them seem to prefer irregular status (for example extended visas), treating their multiple-year stay in Poland as still temporary. Some of them reside in the country illegally.

'New' Armenians have created their own micro-communities in northern and eastern Poland. They seem to choose small towns, allowing them to set up communes (characterised by solidarity). Besides those involved in trading at local markets, their number includes teachers, academics and doctors. The new arrivals are mostly educated people who rarely find employment commensurate with their knowledge and skills. This group's intra-community activities are smaller in comparison to the activities of other ethnic minorities. Strengthened by new arrivals, the Armenian Cultural Society in Cracow's bulletin has appeared on average

twice a year since 1993. In turn, the Armenian Culture Circle, which is attached to the Polish Ethnographic Society, has concentrated its activities on putting out compact publications. The latest issues in this series of over 28 publications to date concentrate on history and tradition. All of them are published in Polish. They seek to revive ethnic consciousness among members of the 'old' group.

### Tartars and other Muslims

A small community of Polish-Lithuanian Tartars who live on the margins of the Latin, Byzantine and Islamic cultures are seeking an identity in the new political and cultural system of Europe. They are strengthened by new arrivals and settlement of Muslims from such countries as Libya or Egypt that is a result of students' exchange programs that allowed thousands of young people from selected Arabic countries to study in communist Poland on the basis of bilateral agreements.

Polish population amounts to 38 million, most of which is Catholic. There are also adherents of other branches of Christianity (Orthodox, Protestants, Evangelic) and followers of Judaism and Islam. The last one came to Poland with Tatars who at the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> century were emigrating from the Kremlin Peninsula (the beginning of their settlement dates for 1397). Tatars were famous for their courage and power. They supported Poland in defending Lithuania, which was a part of Poland at that time. It was then that they got respect of the Polish. Such was the Polish-Tatar relation until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century when the Islamic Osman Empire threatened Poland. Muslims were then forbidden to practice their religion, which forced some of them to join the Osman army and this in turn made the Polish king start negotiations with Tatar Muslims. The restrictions were lifted and at the same time Tatars were guaranteed the farmland, freedom of religion and permission to build mosques. In those times Polish-Muslim relations were full of respect. There were over several thousand of Muslims then, 17 mosques and 3 musallas that were under supervision of Muslim Religious Union of Polish Tatars. After the II World War Polish borders undergone considerable changes. As a result some of the places inhabited by Muslims now belong either to Belarus, Lithuania or Russia (U.S.S.R. previously) whose Communist authorities were a fierce opponent of any religion. During the next period of Communist regime also other ethnical groups were persecuted. They were sent to Siberia, isolated and many were murdered. Private property was nationalised and the mosques were closed. That is why Muslims began to adapt to the society they lived in, and lose the fathom of Islam and knowledge of it. Nowadays there are approximately five thousand Muslim Tatars living mainly near Bialystok, Gdansk, Warsaw and other towns. There are also 10 thousand foreign Muslims, most of whom re students, traders, diplomats or refugees (Forblich, 2000).

Muslim Organisations in Poland:

- Muslim Religious Union of Republic of Poland

It was founded in 1917. Its members are chiefly Muslim Tatars. Two mosques (in Krushinians and Bohnki), a wooden musalla in Bialystok are under the auspices of the organization, and a modern mosque in Gdansk and the Islamic Centre in Warsaw- The World Muslim Union. Members of the Union meet during sessions and on religious festivals to prevent their scattering in Polish society.

- Muslim Society of Education and Culture



The organization has been founded only recently. Its main objective is to educate and patronage the people eager to undertake the responsibility for the Islamic activities in Poland.

- Muslim Students Society in Poland

Islamic youth activities in Poland first began in the 1980's due to the efforts of the students living in Gdansk, Warsaw, Lodz and Krakow. At the beginning there was no mutual agreement or co-operation among them and their activities concentrated in the following areas:

- Situation of Polish Muslims, who are in need of support, further explanation of Islam, lessons on reading Qur'an for their children;
- Negative attitude of media towards Islam and the distortion of Islam and its adherents.

All the aforementioned points contributed to the development of more in-depth activities leading to unification of efforts of the individuals. As a result in 1989 the Muslim Students Society in Poland was founded with its the headquarter in Bialystok. Today, the organization is active in ten main Polish cities. The main targets concentrate around three areas: promoting the general knowledge of Islam, strengthening the bonds between Muslims and, spreading knowledge on Islam among the Muslim youth.

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### PART III CONCLUSIONS

Active civic participation i.e. activities of migrants' political parties or socio-cultural associations or other organisations created by non-EU citizens in Poland are almost non-existing and, if they are, they do not create a visible activity on a social landscape. Definitely it is very low in comparison to the majority population. The situation in Poland reflects the way the issue of political participation of migrants is treated in most of the post-communist countries. There are no structures enabling migrants to influence political decisions at any level. There are no consultative bodies, nor immigrants' parties. The question of voting rights at local level for non-citizens is not on the political agenda of any party. There is not even any public debate on the subject.

Active civic participation of immigrants in Poland is narrowed so far to organise solidarity and self-help in order to improve their social and economic situation, and maintaining an ethnic, religious and cultural identity. The question of possible forms of civic participation of immigrants in Poland has not been discussed either by policy makers at any level, or NGO's or immigrants themselves. The existing immigrants groups are still too weak and too new on the Polish soil to create organisations, parties or associations focused on political activities, local committees or migrant lobby organisations. They mainly concentrate on social and economic situation of their existence in Poland. New immigrants groups now in the process of formation in Poland (such as Ukrainians and Armenians) tend to bind with their ethnic group living in Poland for centuries. So far almost any new immigrants structures have been created only within or by the organisations set up by the old ethnic minorities.

The most active ethnic and nationality 'old' groups are those which are the most numerous. The strongest and most active is a diaspora of Germans which were not analysed by me in this expertise since this is a group with the 'EU-roots'. It is followed by the Ukrainian minority (ranging between 250 000 and 400 000 people), then, on the third place we have Belarussians who are estimated to number 200 000-250 000.

The association of national minorities form a mosaic in terms of forms, sizes and activities, but a socio-cultural association is the basic form of their organisation. The Belarussian minority is the only one in Poland which has its own political party, i.e. the Belarussian Democratic Alliance. The registered minority organisations encompass religious associations, scout and youth organisations, cultural foundations, and organisations representing interests of certain professional groups within the minorities (e.g. teachers, physicians or journalists). New associations have led to the public airing of minorities' interests and have given minorities a chance to act on an open public forum. The possibility to establish an institutional structure by minorities was both symbolic and constituted a substantial change in the status of national minorities in Poland. Their rights are now equal to those of other groups<sup>v</sup>.

Although their rights are equal the activities undertaken by immigrants and minority group differ significantly from those conducted by majority population.

The period after 1989 was marked by a rapid increase in public activity in all areas of life. In the economic sphere, it was mainly expressed through a spontaneous explosion of private enterprise. In 1989-91, the number of registered business increased from 573,000 to 1,497,000. Nearly 100 per cent of these belonged to the SME category, which means that their establishment required neither great capital, nor special managerial skills. Their emergence was largely fostered by the continued existence of a 'shortage economy, which was part of the legacy of central planning and which created numerous, very large niches'. In the socio-political sphere, the period was marked by greater social self-organisation at the grass-roots level. On the one hand, political parties kept mushrooming, on the other, an unprecedented eruption of civic activity took place, resulting in the formation of many non-

governmental organisations. Their number increased most rapidly in 1992, when nearly 1,200 NGOs were registered.

Therefore comparing activities undertaken by immigrants groups in Poland it is interesting to note that the most blossoming entrepreneurial activities and similar to activities undertaken by majority group are Vietnamese actions. As it was already mentioned in this rapport, Vietnamese in Poland carry on a lively economic activity and not only in the field of small trade and gastronomy. The Association of Vietnamese Businessmen in Warsaw has been legally registered. Vietnamese firms and industries, which trade legally, are present in more than half of the voivodships (provinces) of the country.

As for issues to be of particular interest and major research gaps it is important to recall that migration research as such, and here I mean a research testing various theories and aspects of population mobility or creating new ones, did not exist during the communist period in Poland. Therefore, civic participation of immigrants or minorities is only examined in Polish literature from the point of view of the revival of ethnic consciousness in 1989 of old 'ethnic minorities' living in Poland for centuries mainly, and from the point on view of social and economic situation of immigrants who have started to arrive into Poland since the beginning of 1990s only.

The issue of the civic participation of third countries nationals in Poland has been slightly studied from the perspective of recent arrivals into Poland Ukrainians, Vietnamese and Armenians only. In fact these are the only three nationalities that are firstly noticeable in statistics on immigrants and, secondly visible on the social landscape in Poland. These are also the only third countries nationals to whom researchers in Poland have already paid some attention. Therefore this is only the beginning of research on not only active civic participation of third countries nationals but their integration, best practise integration models and e.g. labour market participation. Assuming that the immigration flows into Poland will increase in the nearest future Polish researchers will have plenty of work to do.

## **ANNEX: MAPPING OF RESEARCH COMPETENCES IN POLAND**

There are no institutes, and scholars in Poland with knowledge of active civic participation of immigrants. Consequently there is no research on this issue conducted. It stems from the following facts: 1) Poland has been transforming slowly from a country of emigration into a country of immigration for the last 15 years only; 2) numbers of legal immigrants are still small; 3) immigrants themselves concentrate mainly on improving their economic situation.

Migration research did not exist during the communist period in Poland. Selected studies, mainly anthropological concentrated on research on conditions of Polish peasants' emigration prior to the Second World War and selected aspects of the old Polish diaspora spread all over the world. Only few others (mainly historical and descriptive) were conducted by researchers who were able to get access to archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and this kind of research concentrated on the issue of the post-war repatriation of Poles from the Soviet Union, immediate post-war mass population mobility that took place on Polish territory and its causes and consequences.

Research and studies that had been conducted in the 1990s analysed trends and mechanisms of migration from Poland during the transition period in comparison to those observed in earlier periods. They were focused on a decline of migration from Poland and changes in migratory strategies of Poles: from settlement and long term migration to short-term and shuttle mobility. As for the area of immigration first studies concentrated on the shuttle mobility of petty-traders into Poland. Along with the changes in migratory inflows and changes in political situation stemming from the forthcoming EU enlargement the research focused on negative economic aspects of the implementation of Schengen treaty for Polish eastern borderlands and selected sectors of Polish economy.

So far, research on immigration and different forms of arrival of foreigners and different aspects of their stay in Poland as e.g. possible modes of integration or a lack of integration is conducted only by few academic centres. Majority of the studies and expertises conducted either by political centres or NGOs concentrate in accordance with the main political interests (both national and international) on the forthcoming EU enlargement and consequences of the implementation on Schengen regime in Poland from a perspective of population mobility in the region.

Contemporary international migration research and research-related activities in Poland are scattered among several research institutions. The most important are: 1) Institute for Social Studies, University of Warsaw (ISS UW); 2) Institute of Sociology, Jagiellonian University in Krakow; 3,4) Institutes of Geography and History at the Polish Academy of Sciences; 5) Institute of Social Policy at Warsaw University; 6) Institute of Sociology, University of Wroclaw and 7) Institute of Sociology, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Torun; 8) Institute of Sociology at University of Wroclaw; 9) the Western Institute in Poznan at Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznan and 10) the Silesian Institute in Opole.

Mentioned above institutes have been collaborated on the various aspects of international migration from and into Poland since 1989.

**Warsaw University, ISS UW Centre of Migration Studies (OBM) ([www.iss.uw.edu.pl](http://www.iss.uw.edu.pl));**

ISS Director: Prof. dr hab. Renata Siemienska

00-183 Warsaw, Stawki 5/7 street, ph (+48 22) 831 51 53, fax (+48 22) 831 49 33

The Centre of Migration Studies is a unit of the Institute for Social Studies at Warsaw University. Established in 1993, it comprises an interdisciplinary team of over 20 researchers working on various aspects of migration flows. The publishing series of OBM ISS UW Migration Papers on legal migrations into Poland has so far covered the broadest scope of the issues, including:

- statistics and analyses of migration flows in Poland;
- public opinion attitudes towards immigrants and return migrants
- emerging foreign labour market in Poland
- national migration policy

Leading scholars: A. Gorny, T. Halik, K. Iglicka, W. Lukowski, E. Jazwinska, M. Okolski

**The Institute of Sociology at Jagiellonian University of Krakow ([www.is.phils.uj.edu.pl](http://www.is.phils.uj.edu.pl));**

Director: dr hab. Marian Niezgoda

31-044 Krakow, Grodzka 52 street ph (+48 12) 42 22 129 fax(+48 12) 43 020 99

The Institute of Sociology conducts research projects on emigration from Poland and the sociological aspects of decisions to migrate as well as on the integration of Polish immigrants worldwide. The Institute of Research on Polish Diaspora and Ethnic Relations, headed by G. Babinski, concerns itself with broad-range research on the Polish diaspora, ethnic groups and minorities on the Polish territory.

Leading scholars: K. Slany, B. Babinski

**Institutes of Geography and History, Polish Academy of Sciences ([www.igipz.pan.pl](http://www.igipz.pan.pl)); ([www.ih.pan.pl](http://www.ih.pan.pl))**

Directors: Prof. dr hab. P. Korcelli (Geography)

00-818 Warsaw, Twarda street 51/55, ph (48 22) 697 88 21, fax (+48 22) 620 62 21

Prof. dr. hab. J. Zamojski (History)

00-272 Warsaw, Rynek Starego Miasta 29/31, ph (+48 22) 831 02 61, fax (+48 22) 831 36 42

Established in 1953, the Section of Urban Geography and Population carries out research on spatial structure of cities and its transformation, migration (including modelling and forecasting). The Institute of History, in turn, organises conferences on foreign migration in a historical perspective and publishes yearbooks in the series 'Migracje i Spoleczenstwo' (Migration and Society)

**Institute of Social Policy at Warsaw University (IPS) ([www.ips.uw.edu.pl](http://www.ips.uw.edu.pl));**

Director: Prof. dr hab. M. Szyлко-Skoczny

00-046 Warsaw, Nowy Swiat street 69/219 ph/fax (+48 22) 826 66 52

IPiSS investigates the social consequences of foreigners presence in Poland. Its participation in the political debate mostly takes the form of scientific research contributions.

Leading scholars: M. Duszczuk, P.Hut.

**Some other academic centres:**

The Institute of Sociology and Department of Geography at the Nicholas Copernicus University in Torun undertake studies on the legal status of aliens in Poland, the presence of foreigners in Poland in view of the alienation and 'alien' social groups, and the spatial distribution of immigrants in Poland. Three centres in western Poland conduct work on the issues of the Polish-German borderlands and on the German minority in Poland: the Institute of Sociology at University of Wroclaw; the Western Institute in Poznan at Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznan and the Silesian Institute in Opole.

# STATISTICAL TABLES

**Table 1** Permissions for fixed-time residence by citizenship (major citizenship). Poland: 1998-2003(a) – temporary residents

Citizenship	1998		1999		2000		2001		2002		2003 (b)	
	applica-tions	granted	applica-tions	granted	applica-tions	granted	applica-tions	granted	applica-tions	granted	applica-tions	granted
Total	9,451	4,893	16,715	16,810	17,175	15,037	23,661	20,773	30,210	29,547	14,377	14,167
Armenia	731	432	686	601	926	669	696	591	767	650	437	382
Austria	24	16	109	101	181	167	209	190	265	274	114	114
Belarus	431	232	696	709	783	699	1,533	1,252	2,715	2,694	1,121	1,162
Belgium	20	13	100	83	78	82	156	140	227	222	92	103
Bulgaria	130	65	237	239	291	195	327	271	395	356	186	172
Canada	51	20	127	134	89	98	167	125	232	227	77	96
China	302	133	388	411	388	379	405	360	419	422	189	190
Czech Republic	48	30	90	91	132	116	171	165	280	259	129	150
Denmark	23	12	107	84	128	131	243	219	266	265	97	108
Egypt	32	16	57	65	83	60	62	89	104	81	34	35
Finland	18	11	46	46	44	44	85	59	139	156	47	39
France	105	41	626	545	895	873	1,102	993	1,438	1,478	519	501
Georgia	34	18	67	68	71	67	114	90	88	92	54	43
Germany	302	179	799	756	752	694	1,201	1,063	1,590	1,566	714	733
India	156	80	327	348	330	292	410	366	570	514	299	287
Italy	79	39	191	199	199	175	323	286	507	486	234	226
Japan	43	18	193	188	125	121	260	257	235	220	128	125
Jordan	65	31	70	92	65	53	84	82	71	68	42	44
Kazakhstan	164	52	308	328	265	235	441	382	511	565	210	229
Korea South	358	171	491	591	369	320	304	341	321	275	172	180
Libya	192	47	285	378	178	158	163	184	238	207	117	105
Lithuania	85	50	202	194	165	153	267	239	345	346	173	162
Moldova	33	21	90	67	103	86	200	159	284	289	128	112
Mongolia	167	74	209	212	201	172	265	226	294	267	168	131
Netherlands	58	36	204	196	215	185	308	278	417	414	167	178
Nigeria	45	13	66	74	82	66	110	96	127	117	72	57
Norway	59	40	95	87	51	57	98	89	249	211	64	102
Romania	33	17	69	71	103	82	166	147	168	166	83	82
Russia	715	384	1,001	1,037	1,208	1,033	1,708	1,568	2,011	1,908	1,007	954
Slovakia	58	46	98	88	98	92	160	124	260	271	89	99
Spain	14	6	64	63	43	43	100	76	181	180	85	92
Sweden	53	32	173	158	203	193	330	283	438	468	186	191
Syria	75	33	136	146	126	105	125	127	166	149	69	87
Turkey	92	38	190	187	216	195	360	295	657	606	331	292
Ukraine	1,474	896	2,776	2,540	3,747	3,216	5,418	4,660	6,955	6,816	3,941	3,746
United Kingdom	168	53	446	484	425	382	905	750	1,129	1,168	421	438
USA	320	166	700	741	560	506	884	740	1,114	1,160	449	487
Vietnam	1,525	733	1,339	1,433	1,366	1,146	1,158	1,038	1,073	1,035	466	470
Yemen	75	32	88	116	96	71	82	88	74	75	28	37
Yugoslavia	105	57	1,263	1,202	162	140	231	230	268	251	86	104
Other	989	510	1,506	1,657	1,633	1,390	2,330	1,978	2,622	1,058	1,352	1,322

(a) the number of persons granted a permission in a given year may exceed the number of applicants in that year because the former also pertain to applications submitted in preceding years

(b) January-June

Source: Office for Repatriation and Aliens



**Table 2** Permissions for settlement by citizenship (major citizenship). Poland 1998-2003 (a)  
- permanent residents

Citizenship	1998 (b)	1998		1999		2000		2001		2002		2003 (c)	
	granted	applica- tions	granted	applica- tions	granted	applica- tions	granted	applica- tions	granted	applica- tions	granted	applica- tions	granted
Total	1,375	851	279	725	547 (d)	1,580	853 (e)	748	690 (f)	1,138	603 (g)	861	528
Algeria	13	20	4	6	8	13	5	4	2	6	4	5	1
Armenia	76	38	7	44	25	170	74	54	40	97	40	70	40
Austria	11	9	2	7	10	6	3	5	5	5	3	1	1
Belarus	108	45	15	39	29	84	50	41	42	65	20	48	23
Bulgaria	25	33	19	15	13	20	10	6	10	17	3	10	12
China	8	14	9	39	20	41	28	29	18	50	37	28	21
France	17	7	3	10	10	14	9	3	2	9	6	6	1
Georgia	2	18	8	4	7	11	7	12	8	11	8	3	2
Germany	59	20	7	18	13	31	13	17	20	23	6	17	13
India	1	14	6	10	4	20	19	13	11	27	17	24	21
Italy	15	7	1	10	11	18	7	5	8	15	10	5	6
Japan	4	10	5	8	8	7	4	3	6	4	1	2	1
Jordania	11	8	2	5	3	9	7	5	2	7	5	3	3
Kazakhstan	143	6	-	9	8	9	2	9	6	4	3	7	2
Lithuania	37	9	2	6	7	20	11	6	8	4	2	3	1
Mongolia	8	17	5	5	2	30	8	21	12	28	12	25	9
Netherlands	5	3	1	6	-	13	7	2	6	2	3	5	3
Russia	102	93	26	99	87	177	104	58	69	106	68	74	55
Sweden	19	9	2	5	7	14	12	5	8	9	4	5	2
Syria	17	13	5	10	7	26	18	12	9	11	5	8	1
Turkey	11	16	2	11	8	21	13	6	4	12	5	13	9
Ukraine	341	146	51	129	92	328	160	162	161	155	80	173	98
United Kingdom	18	15	7	15	14	31	20	19	18	17	11	4	4
USA	11	23	13	7	5	25	11	4	9	23	8	20	14
Vietnam	142	82	23	78	52	167	83	116	86	240	149	158	83
Other	171	176	54	130	97	275	168	131	120	191	93	144	102

(a) the number of persons granted a permission in a given year may exceed the number of applicants in that year because the former also pertain to applications submitted in preceding years

(b) permissions for settlement granted to those who applied for "permanent residence" (in accordance with the "old" Aliens Law) before 1 January 1998

(c) January-June

(d) of which 46 persons who applied for permission for settlement before 1 January 1998, of which Ukraine (13), Russia (10), Vietnam (8)

(e) of which 5 persons who applied for permission for settlement before 1 January 1998

(f) of which 12 persons who applied for permission for settlement before 1 January 1998

(g) of which 5 persons who applied for permission for settlement before 1 January 1998

Source: Office for Repatriation and Aliens

**Table 3** Asylum seekers by country of origin. Poland 1998-2003

Citizenship	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Total	3,423	3,061	4,662	4,528	5,169	6,909
Afghanistan	335	577	301	416	598	251
Algeria	21	19	15	8	3	13
Armenia	1,007	888	844	638	224	104
Azerbaijan	16	47	147	70	14	5
Bangladesh	136	33	13	12	-	4
Belarus	23	51	63	76	68	58
Bulgaria	34	185	340	178	36	15
Cameroon	11	7	3	2	2	1
China	1	4	26	28	35	15
Ethiopia	6	8	4	2	3	2
Georgia	20	39	78	92	39	30
India	94	25	13	43	200	236
Iran	6	2	1	3	13	9
Iraq	130	47	30	109	137	75
Kazakhstan	9	10	30	16	8	6
Liberia	2	3	1	-	3	3
Lithuania	-	68	7	6	4	1
Moldova	4	18	9	272	169	21
Mongolia	12	163	188	240	156	27
Nigeria	25	7	9	26	7	15
Pakistan	181	54	30	31	55	150
Romania	12	214	907	266	44	10
Russia	52	125	1,182	1,501	3,054	5,567
Sierra Leone	9	3	1	4	5	-
Somalia	49	9	8	6	3	22
Sri Lanka	641	93	44	24	36	32
Sudan	9	6	6	11	4	1
Syria	7	16	7	10	1	4
Turkey	19	19	9	9	6	22
Ukraine	29	29	70	145	103	85
Uzbekistan	6	5	12	7	8	7
Vietnam	10	26	161	197	48	25
Yugoslavia	423	144	10	6	-	1
Stateless	22	26	19	11	10	12
All other	84	117	93	74	83	80

Source: Office for Repatriation and Aliens

**Table 4** Repatriation to Poland 1997-2003

Category	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Applications concerning repatriation	671	898	1,014	1,026	1,083	801	586
Applications for a repatriation visa	-	808	937	929	956	717	552
Applications of members of families having nationality other than Polish for temporary residence permit	-	90	77	97	127	84	34
Repatriation visas issued	316	281	278	662	804	613	301
Persons who arrived within repatriation	267	399	362	944	1,000	832	455

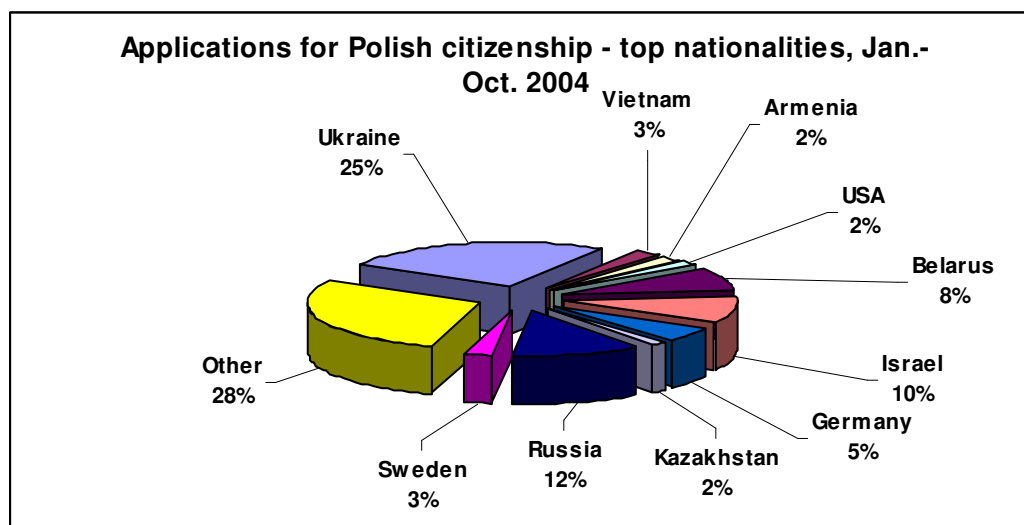
Source: Office for Repatriation and Aliens

**Table 5** Repatriation visas to Poland issued in 1997-2003 by countries of previous residence of repatriates

Country of previous residence	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Total	316	281	278	662	804	613	301
Belarus	-	10	15	45	140	127	43
Czech Republic	-	-	-	-	2	4	1
Georgia	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
Kazakhstan	316	245	172	361	216	194	156
Lithuania	-	-	11	16	20	3	-
Latvia	-	1	1	10	-	-	-
Moldova	-	1	2	10	9	5	2
Russian Federation	-	7	8	10	36	31	11
Ukraine	-	15	69	210	381	245	77
Uzbekistan	-	2	-	-	-	2	8

Source: Office for Repatriation and Aliens

**Figure 1** Polish citizenship applications in the first 9 months of 2004 – top nationalities

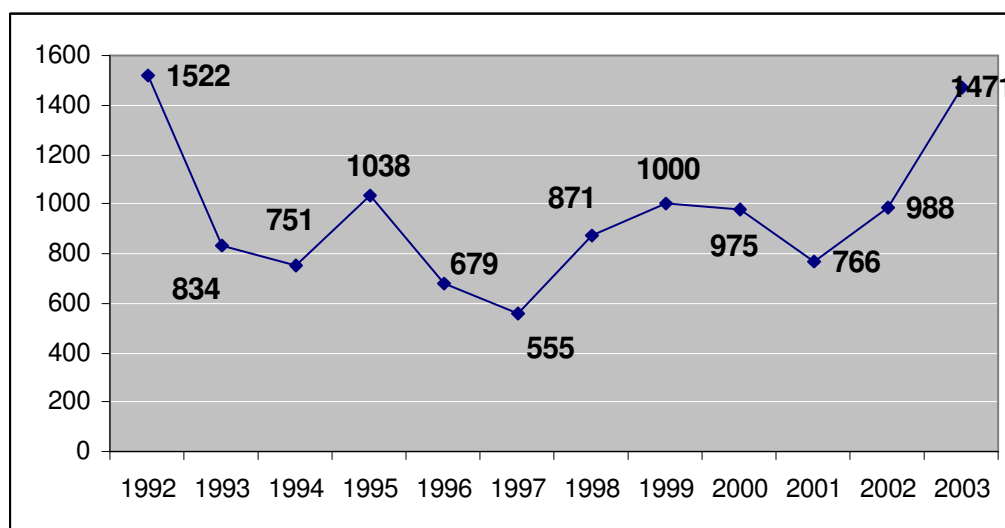


Source: Office for Repatriation and Aliens

**Table 6** Polish citizenship applications in the first 9 months of 2004 – top nationalities

Nationality	Number of applications
Ukraine	1305
Vietnam	132
Armenia	98
USA	90
Belarus	417
Israel	493
Germany	254
Kazakhstan	94
Russia	617
Sweden	136

**Figure2** Number of application granted Polish citizenship 1992-2003



Source: Office for Repatriation and Aliens

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## Endnotes

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<sup>i</sup> This kind of shuttle mobility stemmed largely from differentials in exchange rates and prices between Poland and post-Soviet countries compounded and magnified by a shortage of basic goods in the latter. It is important to primitive mobility from shuttle migration or cross-border commuting in frontier regions – phenomena which have often been seen between the Western European countries or within the Americas. Inhabitants of borderland regions often shop in the neighbour country, especially when the prices are lower there; but generally the amounts of goods which are bought are limited mainly to private needs and therefore profits are small. What has been named primitive mobility is also different phenomenon to the shuttle migration of Poles who, during tourist trips to the Western European countries at the end of the 1980s, kept selling or buying limited amounts of products. In the majority of cases, the purpose of trade during these tourist sojourns of Poles was, firstly, to have one's travel costs covered, and only secondly to gain profits. What distinguishes people involved in primitive mobility between countries of the former USSR and Poland from other shuttle/circular migrants is first of all that citizens of the former Soviet Union became 'professionals' in this movement. People involved in this kind of activity had often given up their jobs or positions simply because the movement and trading based on prices and currency exchange rates' differences between the countries was much profitable for them. Therefore, international commuting became their main source of income and *de facto* their 'job'. They spent more time abroad or not being at home because of travelling and trading. They created a new social phenomenon of people constantly on the move and away from families left behind. Secondly, the frequency of international movements in the case of primitive mobility is very high and the amounts of transferred products huge. 'on the move' who often gave up their jobs or positions because shuttling between borders had turned out to be much more profitable for them.

<sup>ii</sup> To support this thesis I give an example of activities undertaken by refugees in Poland. Poland accepts asylum seekers since 1991 and, so far, more than 2,000 asylum seekers decided to stay and live in Poland. However, their only association 'Association of refugees in Poland' was registered last year only. The weak activities of this association concentrate on maintaining cultural and ethnic identity of asylum seekers in Poland. The association issues its own newsletter 'Voice of exile' six times a year.

<sup>iii</sup> According to the official definition of emigration only those who cancelled their address in Poland are counted as emigrants in statistics.

<sup>iv</sup> This open market is owned by a private company and located very close to the city centre on the right bank of the Vistula river. The open market was started in 1989 and from its beginning has been an important place of exchange between Polish traders and migrants from the former Soviet Union. The majority of traders sell clothing, shoes and cosmetics, both wholesale and retail. Apart from Poles and the Vietnamese, we can also find Russians, Armenians, Ukrainians, Bulgarians, Romanians and African traders there.

<sup>v</sup> The Communist authorities treated the existence of national minorities as an inconvenient legacy of the past, and one which should be 'swept under the carpet', i.e. which should not be publicised. However, there was no uniform policy between 1945 and 1989, and attitudes to particular minorities also varied. Until the end of the 1940s, policy aimed at assimilation. In the 1950s and 1960s it underwent gradual liberalisation, and minorities had new opportunities to teach or learn their mother tongue and to create their own organisations in the form of socio-cultural societies. From the late 1960s, policy changed again and considerably reduced the possibility for minorities to participate in public and cultural activities: the authorities again emphasised the ethnic uniformity of the Polish state. It seems that Poland was then following the stance of Brezhnev in the Soviet Union who, in the latter half of the 1960s,

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claimed that 'the nationality problem had been solved' and that there were only Soviet men and women in the Soviet Union. After the period of social revival in the early 1980s and martial law, state policy towards national minorities until 1989 was characterised by the lifting of certain restrictions imposed on them and by increasing subsidies to their cultural activities.